

Gallienus Redivivus,

OR,

Plutcher Will Out. &c.

Being a True Account of the

DE-WITTING

OF

Glencoe, Gaffney, &c.

Leslie, Charles

They gave out that the design of their Coming was to introduce Liberty, and depose Tyrants: But having gain'd the Power, They did so Tyrannize Themselves, That the Reign of Former Oppressors seem'd a Golden Age, if compar'd with the Arbitrariness and Exaction of these pretended DELIVERERS; which made the Sicilians think them much more happy, who Expir'd in Servitude, than those who liv'd to see such a DISMAL FREEDOM.

Plutarch. Life of Timoleon.

Printed at EDINBURGH, in the Year 1695.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

DEAN

George G. Glinck

Dear Sir:

Very truly yours,

George G. Glinck

A LETTER from a Gentleman in SCOTLAND to
his Friend at LONDON, who desir'd a Particular
Account of the Business of GLENCO.

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L634G

Edinburgh, April. 20th 1692.

SIR,

THE Account you desir'd of that strange and surprizing Mas-
sacre of *Glenco*, take as follows.

Mac-jan Mac-donald, Laird of *Glenco*, a Branch of the *Mack-*
donalds, one of the greatest Clans (or Tribes) in the North of
Scotland, came with the most Considerable Men of his Clan to
Coll. Hill, Governour of *Fort William* at *Inverlochy*, some few days
before the Expiring of the time for receiving the Indemnity appoint-
ed by Proclamation, which as I take it, was the First of January
last, enreating he would administer unto him the Oaths which the
foresaid Proclamation requir'd to be taken; that so submitting him-
self to the Government, he might have its Protection. The Col-
onel receiv'd him with all Expressions of Kindness; nevertheless
shifted the administering the Oaths to him, alledging that by the
Proclamation it did not belong to him, but to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs
of Regalities, and Magistrates of Burghs, to administer them.
Mac-jan Complaining that by this Disappointment he might be
wrong'd, the Time being now near the Expiring, and the Weather
so extreme, and the Ways so very bad, that it was not possible for
him so soon to reach any Sheriff, &c. got from *Coll. Hill*, under his
Hand, his Protection; and withal he was assur'd, that no Orders
from the Government against him should be put in Execution, un-
til he were first advertis'd, and had time allow'd him to apply him-
self to King or Council for his own Safety. But the better to make
all sure, (tho' this might have seem'd Security enough for that time)
with all dispatch imaginable he posted to *Inverary*, the Chief Town
of *Argyleshire*, there he found *Sir Colles Campbell* of *Ardrishie*, Sher-
riff of that Shire, and crav'd of him the Benefit of the Indemnity,
according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the
Conditions requir'd. *Sir Colles* at first scrupled to admit him to the
Oaths, the Time which the Proclamation did appoint being elaps'd
by one day, alledging it would be of no use to him then to take

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them:

them: But *Mac-jan* represented that it was not his Fault, he having come in time enough to *Collonel Hill*, not doubting but he could have administred the Oaths to him, and that upon his refusal he had made such hast to *Inverary*, that he might have come in time enough, had not the extremity of the Weather hinder'd him; and even as it was, he was but one day after the Time appointed; and that would be very unbecoming the Government to take Advantage of a Man's coming late by one Day, especially when he had done his utmost to have come in time. Upon this, and his threatening to protest against the Sheriff for the Severity of this Usage, he administred to him and his Attendants the Oaths, *Mac-jan* depending upon the Indemnity granted to those who should take them; and having so done, he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably under the Government, till the day of his Death.

In *January* last, a Party of the Earl of *Argile's* Regiment came to that Country, the Delign of their coming was then suspected to be to take course with those who should stand out, and not submit, and take the Oaths. The Garison of *Inverlochy* being throng'd, and *Glenço* being Commodious for Quartering, as being near that Garison, those Soldiers were sent thither to Quarter; they pretended they came to exact Arrears of Cels and Hearth-Money, (a Tax never known in *Scotland*, until laid on by the Parliament, 1690, after the Parliament of *England* had eas'd themselves of it;) e'er they entred *Glenço*, that Laird, or his Sons, came out to meet them, and asked them if they came as Friends, or as Enemies? The Officers answer'd, as Friends; and gave their Paroll of Honour, that they would do neither him nor his Concerns any harm; upon which he welcom'd them, promising them the best Entertainment the Place could afford. This he really perform'd, as all the Soldiers confess. He and they lived together in mutual Kindness and Friendship fifteen days, or thereabouts; so far was he from fearing any Hurt from them. And the very last Day of his Life he spent in keeping Company with the Commander of that Party, Capt. *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, playing at Cards with him till 6 or 7 at Night, and at their parting mutual Protestations of Kindness were renew'd. Some time that very day, but whether before or after their parting, I know not, Capt. *Campbell* had these Orders sent him from Major *Duncanson*, a Copy whereof I here send you.

Ballacholis, Feb. 12. 1692.

SIR,
YOU are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels the *Mac-Donalds* of *Glenço*, and put all to the Sword under 70. You are to have especial Care, that the Old *Fox* and his Sons do upon no account escape your Hands;

Hands; You are to secure all the Avenues, that no Man escape: This you are to put in Execution at five a Clock in the Morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger Party. If I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the King's SPECIAL COMMAND, for the Good and Safety of the Country, that these Miscreants may be cut off, Root and Branch. See that this be put in Execution without Fend or Favour, else you may expect to be Treated as not true to the King or Government, nor a Man fit to carry Commission in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love your self. I subscribe these with my Hand,

Robert Duncanson.

For Their Majesties Service, to Capt. Robert Campbell
of Glenlyon.

Duncanson had receiv'd Orders from Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, which were as follows.

Ballacholis, Feb. 12. 1692.

SIR,

PER Second to the Commander in Chief, and my Colonel's Orders to me, for putting in Execution the Service commanded against the Rebels in Glenco, wherein you, with the Party of the Earl of Argyle's Regiment under your Command are to be concern'd: You are therefore forthwith to order your Affairs so, as that the several Posts already assign'd you, be by you and your several Detachments fallen in Action with, precisely by five a Clock to morrow Morning, being Saturday; at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this Regiment for the other Places. It will be most necessary you secure those Avenues on the South side, that the Old Fox, nor none of his Cubs get away. The Orders are that none be spar'd, from 70, of the Sword, nor the Government troubled with Prisoners. This is all, until I see you. From

Your humble Servant.

James Hamilton.

Please to order a Guard to secure the Ferry, and the Boats there; and the Boats must be all on this side the Ferry, after your Men are over.

For their Majesties Service, for Major Robert Duncanson,
of the Earl of Argyle's Regiment. B The

THE Soldiers being disposed five or three in a House, according to the Number of the Family they were to Assassinate, had their Orders given them secretly. They had been all receiv'd as Friends by those poor People, who intending no Evil themselves, little suspected that their Guests were design'd to be their Murtherers. At 5 a Clock in the Morning they began their bloody Work, Surpris'd and Butcher'd 38 Persons, who had kindly receiv'd them under their Roofs. *Mac-jan* himself was Murther'd, and is much bemoan'd; He was a stately well-favour'd Man, and of good Courage and Sense: As also the Laird *Archimtrikin*, a Gentleman of more than ordinary Judgment and Understanding, who had submitted to the Government, and had Coll. *Hill's* Protection in his Pocker, which he had got three Months before. I cannot without Horror represent how that a Boy about Eight Years of Age was murthered; he seeing what was done to others in the House with him, in a terrible Fright run out of the House, and espying Capt. *Campbell*, grasp'd him about the Legs, crying for Mercy, and offering to be his Servant all his Life. I am inform'd Capt. *Campbell* inclin'd to spare him; but one *Drummond*, an Officer, barbarously run his Dagger through him, whereof he died immediately: The rehearsal of several Particulars and Circumstances of this Tragical Story, makes it appear most doleful; as that *Mac-jan* was killed as he was drawing on his Breeches, standing before his Bed, and giving Orders to his Servants for the good Entertainment of those who murthered him; While he was speaking the Words, he was shot through the Head, and fell dead in his Ladies Arms, who through the Grief of this and other bad Usages she met with, died the next day. It is not to be omitted, that most of those poor People were killed when they were asleep, and none was allowed to pray to God for Mercy. Providence ordered it so, that that Night was most boisterous; so as a Party of 400 Men, who should have come to the other End of the *Glen*, and begun the like Work there at the same Hour, (intending that the poor Inhabitants should be enclosed, and none of them escape) could not march at length, until it was 9 a Clock, and this afforded to many an Opportunity of escaping, and none were killed but those in whose Houses *Campbell* and *Glenlyon's* Men were Quartered, otherwise all the Male under 70 Years of Age, to the Number of 200, had been cut off, for that was the Order; and it might have been easily executed, especially considering that the Inhabitants had no Arms at that time; for upon the first hearing that the Soldiers were coming to the *Glen*, they had conveyed them all out of the way: For though they rely'd on the promises

promises which were made them for their Safety; yet they thought it not improbable that they might be disarmed. I know not whether to impute it to difficulty of distinguishing the Difference of a few Years, or to the Fury of the Soldiers, who being once glutted with *Blood*, stand at nothing, that even some above Seventy Years of Age were destroyed. They set all the Houses on Fire, drove off all the Cattle to the Garrison of *Inverlochy*, viz. 900 Cows, 200 Horses, and a great many Sheep and Goats, and there they were divided amongst the Officers. And how dismal may you imagine the Case of the poor Women and Children was then! It was lamentable, past expression; their Husbands and Fathers, and near Relations were forced to flee for their Lives; they themselves almost stript, and nothing left them, and their Houses being burnt, and not one House nearer than six Miles; and to get thither they were to pass over Mountains, and Wreaths of Snow, in a vehement Storm, wherein the greatest part of them perished through Hunger and Cold. It fills me with horror to think of poor stript Children and Women, some with Child, and some giving Suck, wrestling against a Storm in Mountains, and heaps of Snow, and at length to be overcome, and give over, and fall down, and die miserably.

You see in *Hamilton's Order to Duncanson*, there's a special Caution, *That the Old Fox nor none of his Cubs should escape*; and in *Duncanson's Order to Capt. Campbell of Glenlyon*, *That the old Fox nor none of his Sons escape*; but notwithstanding all this wicked Caution, it pleas'd God that the two young Gentlemen, *Mac-jan's Sons* escap'd. For it happened that the younger of these Gentlemen trusted little to the fair Promises of *Campbell*, and had a more watchful Eye over him than his Father or Brother, who suffered themselves by his reiterated Oaths to be deluded into a belief of his Integrity. He having a strong Impression on his Spirit, that some mischievous Design was hidden under *Campbell's* specious Pretences, it made him, after the rest were in Bed, remain in a retired Corner, where he had an advantageous Prospect into their Guard. About midnight perceiving several Soldiers to enter it, this encreased his Jealousy; so he went and communicated his Fears to his Brother, who could not for a long time be perswaded there was any bad Design against them, and Asserted, That what he had seen, was not a doubling their Guards in order to any ill design, but that being in a strange place, and at a distance from the Garrison, they were to send out Centinels far from the Guard, and because of the Extremity of the Weather relieved them often, and that the Men he saw could be no more but these. Yet he persisting to say, That they were not so secure, but that it was fit to acquaint their Father with what he

he had seen, he prevailed with his Brother to rise, and go with him to his Father, who lay in a Room contiguous to that they were in. Though what the younger Son alledged made no great Impression on his Father, yet he allowed his Sons to try what they could discover. They well knowing all Skulking places there, went and hid themselves near to a Centinel's Post, where instead of one they discovered eight or ten Men; this made them more inquisitive, so they crept as near as they could without being discovered, so near that they could hear one say to his Fellows, *That he liked not this Work, and that had he known of it he would have been very unwilling to have come there; but that none, except their Commanders, knew of it till within a quarter of an hour.* The Soldier added, That he was willing to fight against the Men of the *Glen*, but it was base to murder them, But to all this was answered, *All the blame be on such as gave the Orders; we are free, being bound to obey our Officers.* Upon hearing of these words, the young Gentlemen retired as quickly and quietly as they could towards the House, to inform their Father of what they had heard; but as they came nigh to it they perceived it surrounded, and heard Guns discharged, and the People shrieking; whereupon, being unarm'd, and totally unable to rescue their Father, they preserved their own Lives in hopes yet to serve their King and Country, and see Justice done upon those Hell-Hounds, treacherous Murderers, the *Shame* of their Country, and *Disgrace* of Mankind.

I must not forget to tell you, That there were two of these Officers who had given their Paroll of Honour to *Mac-jan*, who refused to be concerned in that *Brutal Tragedy*, for which they were sent Prisoners to *Glasco*, where if they remain not still, I am sure they were some Weeks ago.

Thus, Sir, in obedience to your Commands, I have sent you such Account as I could get of that monstrous and most inhuman Massacre of the Laird of *Glenco*, and others of his *Clan*. You desire some Proofs of the truth of the Story; for you say there are many in *England* who cannot believe such a thing could be done, and publick Justice not executed upon the Ruffians: For they take it for granted, that no such Order could be given by the Government; and you say they will never believe it without a downright Demonstration. Sir, As to the Government, I will not meddle with it; or whether these Officers who murdered *Glenco*, had such Orders as they pretended from the Government; the Government knows that best, and how to vindicate their own Honour, and punish the Murderers who pretended their Authority, and still stand upon it. But as to the Matter of Fact of the Murder of *Glenco*, you may depend upon it, as
certain

certain and undeniable: It would be thought as strange a thing in Scotland for any Man to doubt of it, as of the death of my Lord Dundee, or with you that the Duke of Monmouth lost his Head. But to put you out of all doubt, you will e'er long have my Lord Argyle's Regiment with you in London, and there you may speak with Glenlyon himself, with Drummond and the rest of the Actors in that dismal Tragedy; and on my Life, there is never a one of them will deny it to you; for they know that it is notoriously known all over Scotland, and it is an Admiration to us that there should be any one in England who makes the least doubt of it. Nay, Glenlyon is so far from denying it, that he brags of it, and justifies the Action publicly: He said in the Royal Coffee-House in Edinburgh, that he would do it again; nay, That he would stab any Man in Scotland or in England, without asking the Cause, if the King gave him Orders, and that it was every good Subject's duty so to do; and I am credibly inform'd, that Glenlyon and the rest of them have address'd themselves to the Council for a Reward for their good Service, in destroying Glenco, pursuant to their Orders.

There is enough of this mournful Subject: If what I have said convinces you not, you may have what farther Proof, and in what manner you please to ask it,

Sir,

Your humble Servant, &c.

N. B. That the Gentleman to whom this Letter was sent, did on Thursday, June 10. 1692. when the Lord Argyle's Regiment was quartered at Inverness, go thither, and had this Story of the Massacre of Glenco from the very Men who were the Actors in it: Glenlyon and Drummond were both there. The Highlander who told him the Story, expressing Great which was visible in Glenlyon, said, Glenco hangs about Glenlyon Night and Day, and you may see him in his Face. I am told likewise that Sir John Lowther refused to accept of the Place of Lord Advocate of Scotland, unless he might have liberty so to prosecute Glenlyon, and the rest of the Murderers of Glenco, which not being granted, James Stuart (who was forfeited for Treason by K. C. 2. and since Knighted by K. W.) has now the Place.

Gallienus Redivivus:

O R,

Murther Will Out, &c.

THE fore-going Account of the Barbarous *Murders* of *Glenco*, was Printed in the year 1692. in the *Answer* to Dr. *King's Book* of the *State of the Protestants in Ireland*: And all the Reception it met with among many here in *England*, was, That it was a *Jacobite* Story, on purpose to Reflect upon the Government, and that there was no such thing: But this is now Confuted by the Proceedings of the Parliament in *Scotland*, this Summer Session, 1695. Wherein they have Voted the Killing of the *Glenco-men* to be a Murthrr; and yet have Acquitted Sir *Thomas Livingston*, and *Collonel Hill*, who gave the Orders for Killing of them. Why? Because their Orders were but pursuant to the *Instructions* they had from *Court*. Where will this Lodge the *Murther*? The Design, it is well enough known, is to put it upon Sir *John Dabrymple*, commonly call'd *Maister of Stair*, one of the *Secretaries for Scotland*, because he is not so *Fiercy a Presbyterian* as the other *Secretaries*, *James Johnston*, who hath it by *Inheritance* to love *Crown* and *Justice* alike; and to have a just Reward for it. But *Dabrymple* is only a *Libertine*, or *Laitudinarian*, One of the Modern *No-Religion*, who are indifferant to *All*, so they be troubled with none. Therefore he cares not whether *Episcopacy* or *Presbytery*, or what else is set up, provided the People be easy with it.

NOW it being known to all the World, That the Pretence of the *Inclinations of the People in Scotland*, which was made the Ground-work for abolishing *Episcopacy*, and setting up *Presbytery* there, was a meer *Sham*, contriv'd by this *Johnston*, and the BIGOT *Presbyterian* Party in *Scotland*; who were all put in Power, in the beginning of this *Revolution*; and set on the *Barbarous Rabbling* of the
Episcopal

Episcopal Clergy in the *West of Scotland*, that they might Cry out, The *Inclinations of the People* were against *Episcopacy*: And having, by these and other Arts (which are fully related in Print) Pack'd, and then surpris'd the first *Convention*, or meeting of *Estates*, to *Abolish Episcopacy*: They dare not have a *New Parliament* * (as in *England*) but keep on the same *Convention* (only Changing the Name into that of a *Parliament*) to this day : Because no *Free Parliament* can be had in *Scotland*, which would not the first day, spue out *Presbytery*, and Re-Establish their much more belov'd *Episcopacy*, and 9. And the *People* shewing great *Un-easiness* under their present *Establishment* (which hath been trick'd and forc'd upon them.) All the *Crafts and Violence* of the *Regnant Presbytery*, assisted by *Acts of Parliament*, and all the *Countenance of the Government*, having not yet been able to Oust the *Episcopal Clergy* in the *North*, and other parts of *Scotland*, or prevail with the *People* to admit of, or almost give *Civil Treatment* to the *Presbyterian Ministers* sent to them, and *Establish'd by Law*. The *Presbyterian Interest* standing there upon to render a bottom, their *Juncto* think it not safe to have a Man of *Dalrymple's* *Latitude in Religion*, in so eminent a Post, and near the *Gun*, lest he should follow the *Inclinations of the People*, in *GOOD EARNEST*, and Call a *New Parliament* there, which would ruin all their Measures: Therefore ways and means must be used to Remove him; and leave *Johnston* and the *Presbyterian Faction* in the full Possession of the *Court*. At length, this of *Glenco* was put upon; which was so *Odious*, They knew their *King* could not own it: And therefore they would throw it upon *Dalrymple*, who was *Secretary*, and attended when the *Instructions* were sent for that *Bloody Murder*. And thereby too, They would seem to take off the *Odium* from their *King*; This was their pretence; and they had proof enough against *Dalrymple*: But how that Clear'd his *Master* will be seen.

THEY produced *Nine Letters* of *Dalrymple's* (of which I have Copies) concerning the *Massacre of Glenco*. And I shall have occasion to mention them hereafter; I will now set down their several *Dates*, and *Directions*; and quote them to save Repetition, only by their Number. Letter A. iii. &c. The two first are directed to *Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton*, and bear Date, on the 1st, and the other the 3^d. *Decemb*: 1691: the 4 next are to *Sir Thomas Livingstone*, of these several *Dates*, 7, 9, 11 and 16 of *January* 1691. Then follow two more to *Colonel Hill*, of the 16th and 30th of the same Month; And lastly one of the 30th Ditto, to *Sir Thomas Livingstone*. It seems very strange that *K. W.* would suffer these Letters to be expos'd to the *Parliament in Scotland*, being most of them wrote by

* See
Quercia
Tempor
rum. p. 8

by his Order, enlarging upon, and enforcing the Execution of *In-
structions*, sent with them for the *Massacre of Glenco*, &c. and the Re-
gard which his *Dear Presbyterians*, and his Favourite *Johnston*, in parti-
cular, had to his Honour, was very slender, when, to compass their
Ends, they load him so foully, that they might load *Dalrymple* too.
Johnston says, *No*, But that he *foreseeing* (because some say of his own
Contriving) that the *Parliament* (who are most of them his *Creatures*,
to their Honour be it spoken) would fall upon the business of *Glenco*;
and that they must be, at least *seemingly* Gratified in it, otherwise
that it might obstruct the *Money-Bills*, did therefore, advise his Ma-
jesty to send down a *Commission* to men of his own choosing, to en-
quire into the Affair of *Glenco*; but withal, to give *secret Instruk-
tions* to his *Commissioner*, to keep up the said *Commission*, unless the
Parliament should enter upon that business. And if they did, then
to produce the said *Commission*, to shew his Majesty's *Innocence*, in
his *Care* to have it Examined; and withal, it would take the Exa-
mination of it out of the hands of *Parliament Commissioners*, who
might not manage so dextrously, as those of his own naming.

THINGS being thus stated, and the necessary Orders given, he
vilely suspected, that *Johnston* procured the Matter to be brought
to the *Parliament*, whereby, at once, to get rid of his *Rival Secretary*,
and Root up the interest of any, who had but an indifference to-
wards *Episcopacy at Court*; though to the utter *Disgrace* of his Ma-
jesty's Honour, to be Recorded for all *Posterities* (as *Wit* were com-
perable from some Constitutions to *betray* those they serve, even tho'
they wish them well, and must stand and fall with them.) For con-
sidering the influence *Johnston* had in that *Parliament*, and that they
have never yet oppos'd his Will in any thing; and that he has been
able to suppress the least *Murmur*, or *Hint*, that looked towards
Glenco, when the Fact was New Committed; and the *Horror* of it
fresh and Bleeding; and now for three years after, I say, it is not
supposed by men who understand that *Parliament*, that it could
have been brought upon the Stage, when it was almost dead and
forgotten, if the hand of *Job* had not been in it: but let him look
to that---- I have only to add, as a Completion of the fore going
Narrative, that I can from unquestionable *Vouchers*, give the Reader
an Account of the Orders from Court to *Thomas Livingston*, and
Collonel Hill, which are not in the *Letter* that goes before; and
when the Reader is told that *Hamilton* (whose Order to *Duncan*
is inserted) had his Order from *Livingston*, and *Collonel Hill*; Then
he has the whole thread, viz. W. R.'s Order to *Livingston*, and *Hill*;
Livingston and *Hill* to *Hamilton*; *Hamilton* to *Duncan*; and *Dun-
can* to *Glenlyon*, who was the *Butcher*:

YOU find in the *Gazette* Two Sett of *Instructions*, one of the 11th, the other of the 16th Jan. 169 $\frac{1}{2}$. and I will give you an Account of them both. Those of the 11th did expressly Order FIRE and SWORD, [these were the words] against all the *High-Land-Clans*, who had not taken the *Oaths*. After they were sent away, my Lord *Carmarthen* (now *Leeds*) being told of it, by *Dalrymple* (as am I am informed) did represent it to K. W. as a thing so unknown in these Countries, which are Governed by Laws, That *Fire and Sword* would sound very harshly ; no such words having ever been heard from any of our *Native Kings*. This procured the mitigation of that Order, by the *Instructions* of the 16th, which poured all the *Thunder* upon *Glenco* ; because some *Sacrifice* must be made ! What concern'd *Glenco* was in the 4th of these *Instructions*, and is as follows.

WILLIAM R.

As for MAC-JAN of GLENCO, and that TRIBE, if they can be well distinguished from the Rest of the High-Landers; It will be proper for the Vindication of Publick Justice, to EXTIRPATE that Sett of Thieves.

W. R.

THIS was directed to Sir *Thomas Livingston*, and *Collonel Hill*. And the *Parliament* has voted that *Livingston*, or *Hill's* Orders did not exceed these *Instructions* ; nor indeed could they : For what can exceed EXTIRPATION ! And that to be Executed at the discretion of *Soldiers* ! As it is worded in the Secretary's Letter to Sir *Tho. Livingston*. a I am confident (says he) you will see there are full Powers a Letter v. given you in very plain Terms, and yet the method left very much to your own discretion.

TAKE Notice that these *Instructions* are Counter-sign'd W. R. at Bottom, as well as at Top, which is not usual : For it is the Secretary's Office to Counter-sign the King's Orders ; and the Reason is, that if any thing be amiss, the Secretary must be answerable. Therefore *Dalrymple* had reason to wave that Ceremony, in this Instance, and let his Master take all the Glory to himself. And lest this should not be sufficiently taken Notice of ; and that he might have a Voucher, when time comes, he took care to inform Sir *Tho. Livingston* punctally of it, in the same Letter which Enclosed the first most Bloody *Instructions*, of the 11th Jan. 169 $\frac{1}{2}$. for an *Universal Massacre* of All, who had not taken the *Oaths*. And begins in these words : b *Sir, I send you the King's Instructions super* b Letter v.

D

and

and subscrib'd by Himself.--- And to shew how pleasing a thing Mercy was to them, and with what reluctancy they Prosecuted those who had not taken the Oaths, he says in the same Letter; *Just now Argyle tells me, That Glenco hath not taken the Oaths, at which I Rejoyce. It's a great work of Charity to be exact in Rooting out that Damnable Sect.* And to shew how great this Charity was, and whence it proceeded, The *Wise* Secretary Blurts out these words; *I have no great kindness for Keppoch, nor Glenco, and it's well these People are in mercy. Well indeed! They were in merciful hands! Who can say they ought not to Die, for whom such a Secretary hath no GREAT Kindness! But who are they must die? ALL! ALL! Man, Woman, and Child! Massacre the Men, and Drive the Women and Children to Perish more cruelly in the Mountains.* To which purpose, that extreme Cold Season was chosen for the Execution. a *The Winter is the only Season (says the Secretary) in which we are sure the High-Landers cannot escape us, nor carry their Wives, Bairns, and Cattle to the Mountains.* b *It's the only time that they cannot Escape you; for Human Constitution cannot endure to be long out of Houses---* This is the proper Season to maul them in the cold long Nights. This was express'd with the Gusto of a *Kulture*, in expectation of a Glorious Massacre! And then how easy it would be! c *I expect (says he) you will find little Resistance but from the season.* And then what thorough work they would make! d *To destroy entirely the Country of Lochaber, Lochbells, Lands, Keppoch's, Glengaries, Appin, and Glenco.* Here was a plentiful Feast provided! It was a Ravishing Prospect!

BUT O how these Lyons were Enraged when any of their desired Prey was delivered out of their Jaws. It was in a mournful strain the Secretary tells the sad News. e *We have an Account (says he) that Lochart, and Mac-naghton, Appin and Glenco took the benefit of the Indemnity at Inverary; and Keppoch, and others at Inverness.* But after this, when Argyle told him that Glenco had not taken the Oaths; How did he Rejoyce! as above Quoted. f *I am glad (says he) that Glenco did not come in within the time prescribed.* g *I am content that CLAN except it self.* h *For my part, I could have wish'd the Mac-donalds had not divided, (that is, That they had all excluded themselves from mercy) and I am sorry that Keppoch, and Mac-jan of Glenco are safe.* But it seems they were not safe. Some must be made a Sacrifice; And Glenco was pitched upon for the Victim; And the implacable Fury, which was shewn against that Clan, expressed the Rage they felt, that so many had escaped them. And therefore that Clan was to be destroyed entirely. i *I assure you (says the Secretary to his Officers) your Power shall be full enough, and I hope the Soldiers will not trouble the Government with Prisoners.* k *For a just*

Ex-

a Letter i.

b Letter ii.

c Letter

iv.

d Letter

iii.

e Letter

iv.

f Letter

ix.

g Letter i

h Letter

iv.

i Letter

iii.

k Letter

iii.

Example of Vengeance, Retreat that the Thieving Tribe in Glenco may
may be Rooted out in earnest. a I shall entreat you that for a just Venge-^{a Letter}
ance, and publick Example, the Thieving Tribe of Glenco may be Rooted^{vii.}
out to purpose. The Earl of Argyle and Broadalban have promised they
shall have no Retreat in their Bounds; the Passes to Rappach would be
secured, and the Hazard certified to the Laird of--- *to Retreat: Then*
in that Case Argyle's Detachment, with a Party that may be Posted in
Island Stalker, must cut them off. b Pray when any thing concerning^{b Letter}
Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the Men will^{viii.}
shift you, and better not meddle with them than not to do it to purpose, to
cut off that Nest of Robbers, who are fallen in the mercy of Law. c I^{c Letter}
am glad Glenco did not come in within the time Prescribed. I hope^{ix.}
what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a Condition
to draw together to help. I think to herry their Cattle, or burn their
Houses, is but to render them Desperate Lawless Men, to Rob their Neigh-
bours: But I believe you will be satisfied it were a great Advantage to the
Nation, That that Thieving Tribe were Rooted out, and Cut off. It must
be Quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both the Men and their
Cattle. Argyle's Detachment lies in Keppoch well, to assist the Gar-
rison to do all ON A SUDDEN. Was ever so greedy a Hunt after
fearless, and suspecting no danger; under the Protection of those
who were thus Contriving to Massacre them, in the most Savage
and Treacherous manner!

The Secretary tells Collonel Hill, that *d The Oaths are Indispensa-*^{d Letter}
ble. This was a fearful Method of Imposing the Oaths upon these^{viii.}
High Landers, that none must live who would not take them! But
were All admitted to take them? One would think so; when
they were made Indispensable. Yet notwithstanding, in that same
Letter, He gives these Directions to Coll: Hill. Till we see what is
done by the CHIEFS, it is not time to Receive their Tenants, or Ad-
mitting them to take the Oaths, or hoping for Pardon, 'till they give E-
vidence that they are willing to pay their Rents to you, and to take Tacks
for their former Duties; who will not do so, and were in the Rebellion,
must feel the dismal Consequences of it.

THUS Naboth's Vineyard made him a Blasphemer! If the Te-
 nants would betray the Rights of their Land-Lords to Attrun and
 Pay their Rents to the Secretary, or his Governour, then, and not
 otherwise, They should be Admitted to take the Oaths: And yet
 they must not live, if they did not take the Oaths; But Glenco took
 the Oaths; yet that sav'd not his Life, nor his Clan.

IT were reasonable here to presume that K. W. did not know that
 they had taken the Oaths. First, If it had been so. This manner
 of

of *Massacre*, in *Cold Blood* had been a *Cruelty* without Precedent Secondly, It was taking Advantage of the Time, with the Greatest Rigour. For the Time limited by the *Indemnity* expired but the 1st of *January* 169¹. And the *Instructions* for a *General Massacre* were dated the 11th of the same Month, at *London*, which was hardly time enough to know, whether they had taken the *Oaths* or not. But Thirdly, Here is no room left to surmise, that *K. W.* did not know it; because Secretary *Dalrymple* (in his Letter to Sir *Thomas Livingston*, before Quoted, which is dated at *London* the 9th of *January*, 169¹.) tells him a That they had an Account that *Glenco* had taken the *Oaths*, at *Inverary*; which was the Place where he did take them, as is told in the foregoing Narrative. And he tells Sir *Thomas*, in the same Letter; *I have been with the King. He says your Instructions shall be dispatched on Monday.* And they were so. For that *Monday* was the 11th of *January*, 169¹. which day the *Instructions* do bear Date. And this Letter of the *Secretary's* was Dated the 9th of *January*, 169¹. which was the *Saturday* before. And then he tells Sir *Thomas*, That he had the Account of *Glenco's* having taken the *Oaths* with several others; and that he had been with the *King* concerning it, and *Instructions* should be sent, &c. 'Tis true, his Letter of the 11th, which went with the *Instructions*, says, b That *Argyle* told him *Glenco* had not taken the *Oaths*. But this was no more than *Hearsay*; and it was not true. For *Glenco* had taken the *Oaths* before that time; according to the Account which the *Secretary* own'd was sent to him: And *Argyle* was an Enemy to *Glenco*, as appears by what is above quoted out of Letter 7. But this saying of *Argyle's* to the *Secretary* in *London*, could not be of *Argyle's* own Knowledge. And one would think that the *Secretary of State* should have as good Intelligence as he.

a Letter
iv.

b Letter v.

BUT, to make the most of it, this cou'd amount to no more than a *Doubt*. And to Suspend his further Resolution, till he might have the Certainty from *Scotland*. But they did not stay for this. For the particular *Instructions* to *Massacre Glencoe*, bore Date the 16th of *January* 169¹. Betwixt which time and the 11th, when *Argyle* told the *Secretary*, as above, They could not send to *Scotland*, and have any Answer back. Now these *Instructions* of the 16th were no way *Conditional*. To cut off *Glencoe*, if he had not taken the *Oaths*. But Positive, and without more ado, When it is certain that *K. W.* Must, at least, *Doubt* whether he had taken the *Oaths*, or not. But it is apparent that *Collonel Hill*, who had Given *Glencoe* his *Protection*, and to whom *Glencoe* came to take the *Oaths*, I say it is certain that he, and the other Officers there

there upon the Place, knew very well that *Glenco* had taken the Oaths, and submitted to the Government. Those Officers whom he receiv'd into his House, and quarter'd their Soldiers among his Tenants, upon his laying down his Arms; These must know that he had Submitted. But if notwithstanding they must Obey their Orders (as they did) if it be not Permitted to Officers, so much as *Rescribere*, to acquaint the King with any mistake may be in his Orders; but to Execute them blindfold, and without Asking Questions, then let me lie out of the Reach of a Soldier.

THE Reader must likewise know, that none of these Foresaid Instructions were Communicated to the Privy Council of Scotland; to whom by the Constitution of that Kingdom, and Continual Custom, all the King's Orders are directed. They knew nothing of this Matter, It was contriv'd to be Carry'd in such a Manner, as not to be prevented. And when *Gallienus* his Thirst of Blood is once Satisfy'd, then let *Slaves* Grumble, and make Inquiry! We know how to Manage them. *Johnston* hath undertaken it. Nay he hath done it. Done it! More effectually than ever was heard, or I believe, Imagin'd, in these Nations, before this Happy Revolution: For here is a Precedent made, and that by P---t, That the King may send his Guards, and Cut any Man's Throat in the Nation in Cold Blood; Nay, he may Massacre the whole P---t, as they are there sitting, by the Rule that they have given; That is, To acquit *Livingston* and *Hill*; and to justify them for pursuing the King's Orders to Massacre a whole *Clan*, which is no more Just, or Law, than to Massacre a P---t.

LET us Banter the World, or our selves no more with Liberty and Laws! And when P---ts can be brought to Approve, and justify All this--- Well! *Johnston*! Thou hast Manag'd Nobly. Thou art fit to Serve a Monarch! But not unless you bring your Monarch cleverly off in this Business; For what if you can place it upon *Dalrymple*; And if *Dalrymple* should be Hang'd for Daring to send such an Order, tho' he refus'd to Counter-sign it, What will become of Him, who both Sign'd it, and Counter-Sign'd it, and Commanded it to be Sent?

If the Man such Praises have,
What must He Employs the K---?

WHY! did his Master never Inquire into this Matter before? Never before the Parliament Clamour'd! And what was the Meaning of a Commission to Examine into what himself had Order'd--- But *Mes James*!--- And have you e'en brought your Master into this Noose! What can you expect from him, but to be *Glen-Co'd* for your pains? *Qui Glencoe, Glencoeabit*--- You have brought all his Sins to Remembrance. The *Dewitting* in *Holland* was almost forgot--- You have pretty good Experience of his Temper, or you may have. But if he suffer you to live to see another Revolution, you may plead Merit: For all his Enemies have not render'd him so Black; so effectually Proved and Demonstrated it to the World, as your Management has done. He is happy in his Ministers! at least very Justly serv'd by them!

E

HE

HE wants but a good *Historian*, that he may not lose his *Character* to after Ages. And *Secretary*, you cannot do better than to recommend your *Ducle* to that Office. He'll do it *Deliciously*; he'll either find or make *Parallels* to him out of *Antient Histori* (for he'll find none among the *Modern*, especially in these *Countries*.) And make him (I'll warrant you) Excel them all. And among the rest, I would recommend one to him, that fits the present Case so exactly, that you would think one was Copied out of the other, and it is as follows,

Gallienus, ut erat Nequam & Perditus; ita etiam, ubi necessitas coegisset, velox, furibundus, ferus, vehemens, Crudelis.--- In omnes *Mosiacos* tam *Milites* quam *Cives* asperime Ceviit: Nec quemquam suae Crudelitatis exortem reliquit: Usque adeo Asper & Trunculentus ut plerique Civitates vacuas a virili sexu relinqueret.

Extat sane Epistola Galieni quam ad Celerem Verianum Scripsit, quae ejus Nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur: quam Ego idcirco interpolui, ut omnes intelligerent, hominem Luxuriosum crudelissimum esse, si necessitas Postulet.

GALLIENUS VERIANO. Non mihi satisfacies, si tantum Armatos occideris, quos & sors Belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis sexus Virilis, si & senes atq; Impuberes sine Reprehensione nostra occidi possent. Occidendus est quicumq; malevoluit. Occidendus est quicumq; male dixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot Principum Patrem & Fratrem. Ingenius factus est Imperator. Lacera Occide, concede: Animum meum intelligere potes, mea Mente irascere qui hac Manus mea scripsi. Trebell. Pollion. Trigint. Tyrann. de Ingenio.

THIS is the Description of Gallienus, a *Cruel*, and a *Bloody Tyrant*: And here is the Copy of some Instructions he sent to *Verianus*; an Officer of his, about just such another *Massacre* as *Glenco*, which he Wrote, or Sign'd with his own Hand: Wherein he Commands him, to put all to the Sword, All that durst *Speak* or *Think* against him, as well *Old* as *Young*; He bid him *Plunder*, *Kill*, *Tear*; and that it would not please him if he Kill'd only those in *Arms* against him, but All of the *Masculine Sex*.

HERE was a Great deal of Do, and many Words about it! But our Milder Order, bid only *EXTIRPATE*, and that not this or that Body, or making *Distinctions* of *Old* or *Young*, *Men* or *Women*--- What need all that *Cookery*! But only *The Whole TRIBE*. That was all! He Scorn'd to Except the pitiful *Women*, as Gallienus did. What need They be Excepted? Why! He Excepted no Body! Short Work's best--- and Few Words--- And as the Answer to Great Britains Just Complaints, Publish'd by Authority, 1692. Says, p. 37. in Vindication of W. R. as to this of *Glenco*. A milder Order was never given. And he says that his Majesty has Express'd a High Displeasure at it. It was High indeed: For we never heard of it before. Nor are we like to hear of it, that I can see; For all the Officers who Commanded, or who Executed it, are still in their Respective Posts, unless Advanc'd. Nor have we heard that so much as an *ill Word* has been said by Him to any one of them.

BUT

BUT this we know, by that *Answer to Great Britains Just Complaint*, that *W. R.* cannot plead Ignorance, that there was a great Clamour about the Massacre of *Glenco*, *Three Years ago*: And that He has taken no Notice of it all this time; nor *Now*, till it was first Started in *Parliament*; And that then, what he did, was, as much as he could, to take it out of the hands of the *Parliament*, and by all his Might and Main, to *Stifle*, or at least to *Baffle* it. And that it has been *Baffled*. And this horrible Addition is thereby made to the Guilt of that *Murder*; That whereas none were answerable for it before, except only *Gallienus* and his *Verianus's*, with their Accomplices, It is now become a *National Guilt* (so far as the *Parliament* are the *Representatives* of the *People*) by the *Parliament's* making *GALLIENUS's* Instructions sufficient to *Justify Verianus* in his Execution of them: Whereby they *justify* the whole *Murder* and bring it upon their own *Heads*, and upon the *Heads* of their *Children*. For if *Gallienus* had no Power by *Law*, to send such Instructions, they could be no Justification to *Verianus*: But now That *Parliament* has Voted that such Instructions are a Justification of *Verianus*; and therefore they have yielded that *Gallienus* has, by *Law*, a Power to send such Instructions. And that they ought to be Obedient. And then, *Lord have mercy upon us!*

NOR has our *Parliament* in *England* been behind that of *Scotland* in Sacrificing our *Laws*, *Lives*, and *Liberties* to an *Arbitrary* and *Despotic* Power; and that not only to *Orders* Sign'd by *Gallienus* himself, but by *Verianus*, of his own head. Making us *Double*. *Distill'd Vassals*; *Slaves of Slaves!*

AND the instance which (among many others) I have to give of this, Exceeds even that of *Glenco*, in its having less Pretence, and acted with the greater face of *Authority*, and *Solemnity*. I mean the *Prodigious* *unprecedented* Manner of the *Murder* of *Gaffney* in *Ireland* by the Command of the Lord *Coningsby*; For which he was impeach'd before the *House of Commons* in *England*, by *Protestants* of *Ireland*, *Gentlemen* of *Quality* and *Estates*; and of *Publick* and *generous* Spirits; whose noble Resentment to see their *Laws* so vilely trampled under foot by those whom they had Invited thither to protect them, brought them hither in Person, to demand Justice from our *House of Commons*, against *Coningsby*, who was one of their *Members*. And that there could be nothing of *Revenge* in the Case, in behalf of the Person who was Murder'd, it's notorious; that *Gaffney* being a poor Fellow, a *Servant* to *Sweetman* (hereafter mention'd) and wholly unknown, I believe, to every one of the *Gentlemen* who prosecuted *Coningsby*; Besides, He was a *Roman Catholic*, and one of the *Native Irish*, upon both of which Accounts he could have the less share of Interest with the *British*, and *Irish* *Protestants*, who were then not wholly come out of a most bloody War against them; for *Limerick* as yet held out. And therefore these worthy *Patriots*, who came over from *Ireland* hither to prosecute *Coningsby*, could have no other Incitement, but Love of their Country, and the Preservation of the

the *Laws*: But the Return they had, after a long and Expensive Attendance as it was, *Mortifying* to themselves, and sadly *Instructive* to others will remain an Instance of *Arbitrary Government* not to be equall'd in former Ages, nor easily credible to the *future*. The Story, one would think should not need being told in *England*, because it was brought upon the Stage, before the *House of Commons*, and is in their *Printed Votes*.

YET, all that, is not, it seems, sufficient to Publish it, at this time; not one in twenty of some sort of People that I meet with, having ever heard of it, or have forgot it: And (as I have told of the Story of *Glen-co*) they call it a *Jacobite Invention*; and will hear no more of it.

I will therefore present the Reader with the very Words of the *Article* concerning *Gaffney*, which (with several others of other Instances of *High Arbitrary Government*) was exhibited by the Earl of *Baltimore*, and other *Protestants of Ireland*, against the Lords Justices of *Ireland* (viz. The said Lord *Coningsby*, and Sir *Charles Porter*, both *Members of the House of Commons in England*) before the *House of Commons* in the Winter Session 1693. The *Article* concerning *Gaffney* is the 4th, and follows in these Words.

That the Lords Justices did, in Council, by word of mouth, Order one Gaffney to be Hanged, without Tryal, the Courts of Justice being then open, and who was at that time an Evidence against one Sweetman for the murther of Collonel Foulk's soldiers: But the said Sweetman (giving all his real Estate to the value of about 200 l. per Annum. to Mr. Culiford, besides the sum of about 500 l. to Mr. Fielding, the said Lords Justices Secretary, for being his Bayl) was never prosecuted for the said murther; and the said Gaffney was immediately Executed, according to the said verbal Order.

NOW the Reader must know that every Tittle of the said Charge was proved fully, and past all Contradiction. Captain *Fitz-Gerald*, who is a Member of the *Privy Council* in *Ireland*, Declared that he was then sitting at the *Board*; and that the Council were not advised with at all in it. That *Sweetman's Estate*, valued at 3000 l. was offer'd to him [*Captain Fitz-Gerald*] on Condition that he would make interest to save *Sweetman's Life*. That Lord *Coningsby*, who gave the Orders for Executing of *Gaffney*, was in so great hast to have him dispatch'd out of the way (for he was an Evidence against *Sweetman*) That he ordered a *Provo*, instead of any *Legal Officer*, to be Call'd into the Council-Chamber where *Gaffney* was Examined: And after having asked *Gaffney* three or four Questions, and that he positively denied his having any Accession to the said Murther; Commanded the *Provo* to take him out and hang him up IMMEDIATELY: And the *Provo* making Answer, That it would take some time to make a Gallows; *Coningsby* answered sharply, Hang him upon the Carriage of a Gun; which was done IMMEDIATELY.

OF all this *Coningsby* could not deny One Word before the *House of Commons*: And all he said in his own Vindication was, *That if he had not hang'd Gaffney so, he could not have hang'd him at all.* Which was true: For there was no Evidence against him, and therefore they would give him no *Trial*. But why must *Gaffney* then be Hang'd? Because forsooth! Some Officers in the Army would have some body Hanged for the Murder of *Foulk's* Soldiers: And *Sweetman* (in whole *Backside* the Soldiers were buried, and their Coats found in his House) had given 400 £. to the Lords Justices Secretary, and his Estate to another man in Power; but *Gaffney* was a Poor Rogue, and had nothing to give, and therefore it was his he should be hang'd. And Hang'd as he was, or not as all. As *CONINGSBY* honestly, but *Impudently* Confessed.

BUT now comes the Astonishing Wonder. After all these things so plainly Proved and Confess'd, that the *House of Commons* could not frame any manner of excuse for *Coningsby*; but were forc'd to Vote the Execution of *Gaffney* without *Trial*, to be Arbitrary and Illegal; Yet that considering the State of Affairs, They did not think fit to ground an Impeachment against the Lord *Coningsby* for the same. This is in the Printed Votes of the 29th of January, 1693. And it is an Original. What! Vote a *Mangnity*, and yet that he shall not be prosecuted! Why pray? Because of the State of Affairs. This is very general: And such a pretence will never be wanting. But what was this State of Affairs, at that time? It was in the Winter 1690. When all *Ireland*, except only *Limerick*, was in the Obedience of *K. W.* when the Courts of Justice were open (as in the above said Article against *Coningsby* is express'd) and the Lords Justices and Council sitting in Peace and Grandeur in *Dublin*. And what was it then could or ought to have hindered giving that Poor Fellow a fair *Trial*? Other Criminals were then Tryed, in the usual form, and why not *Gaffney*? How came the State of Affairs to reach him, more than any other? Unless you will say, that it did reach to many others: For it is express'd in the Printed Address of the Lords, Presented to *K. W.* 9 March 1692. That not only *Gaffney*, but several others were Executed, without any *Trial* whatsoever; And that there were *Exorbitant Abuses, great Mismanagements, and many Arbitrary and Illegal Proceedings* there, within these few Years last past, as well since the determination of the War as before, which includes the whole Government since the Revolution, as well during the Administration of *Gallienus* in Person, while he was there, as of his several *Viceroy's* in his Absence. One of whom did, in *Almanzor* strain, set up the High Prerogative, and Hester their Parliament in a manner unknown to former Ages: And without Precedent from any Lawful King that ever sat upon the English Throne in that Kingdom. Which they have given us an Account of in Print; to try whether there was so much of the Spirit of *English Liberty* left in an *English Parliament* as to Vindicate their own Privileges, in that Branch which was made upon them, thro' the sides of the Parliament in *Ireland*, a Province of their own,

and may be reckoned a branch of the *English Empire*. But all in Vain! They had drunk so deep in the Cup of *Slavery* at Home, that they could take no notice of it Abroad. They have stop't their Ears close against all Charters upon that Subject, *Charm they never so wisely*. They Call their *Slavery*, Liberty! And where then is the *Remedy*!

Thus poor *Ireland* was left without all hopes of Redress, to feed upon the Melancholy Reflection; that their *Liberties* have been much more notoriously violated by their *Deliverers*, than by all the instances which were so much as alledg'd against their *Lawful King*; And thence to learn for the future, how much Rebellion is a worse *Remedy*, than the Disease of Tyranny (even when it is not made a pretence) and that it always Ends in a Heavier Tyranny: Because there must go more Force to keep under *New Acquisitions*, than *Old Hereditary Rights*. And if all the Sacred Bonds of Natural Allegiance, Fortified with the Religious Sanction of Oaths, and Taught and Inculcated upon Us, from our Infancy, as a Condition indispensable to our *Salvation*; if all this, and all the Honour and Reputation which the World has justly affixed to *Loyalty*, with the Horror, and eternal Stain, upon the Name and Memory of *Traitors* and *Rebels*, and all the Terrors of the Laws against *Treason*. If none (I say) Nor all of these Considerations, have weight enough to keep us in our Obedience to those whom God, and the Constitution of our Country, have plac'd over Us, by a Divine as well as a Legal Right: How should an *Usher* secure our Duty, who has none of these Ties, on his side; but All, and every One of them against Him? How should, How can He do it, but by Corrupting our Representatives in Parliament, so as to pass all his Arbitrary Designs upon Us, in their Names; and when that fails him, by open Force! How otherwise has any one of them ever yet secured himself? Have we forgot our late *Deliverers* in *Forty One*? Will no Experience serve to make us Wise! No. Not when the time of our Destruction is come! We shall then, as the *Jews* did before their Final Destruction by the *Romans*, we do now as they did then, Obstinately Refuse all Offers of Mercy, for our Rebellion? and continue to provoke a Power, which we know too strong for Us; and which we Confess, must, without a Miracle, be our Ruine: Yet we run on, trusting only to our *Dispair*! And we have not only Delivered up our Money and our Lives, without Account; but what used to be Dearer to *English Men*, *The Honour of England*! Of which take this short Instance instead of many more.

THE *House of Lords* made (and printed) an *Address*, dated the 18th of February 1692. Wherein They mind their King of the Capitulation made in the Year 1691, by which it was agreed, That the English Commander and Officer, in every Degree is to Command any other Confederate Officer of the same Rank (except those of Crowned Heads) without any regard to the Date of their respective Commissions: And that the contrary Practice in this last War was, to the Diminution of the Honour that belongs to the Crown of England, and to the general Dissatisfaction of his Majesty's Subjects. And desire, That the Chief Commander of the English Forces under his Majesty, should be a Sub-
ject

born in his Majesty's Dominions: That no Foreigner should be of the Board of Ordnance, or Keeper of the Stores in the Tower of London: That, for the Encouragement of the English, there should not be so many Strangers Employ'd in the Office of the Ordnance. That there had been many Abuses under Pretence of Pressing Men for the Fleet: And therefore They humbly Advice, That the Offenders should be immediately Cashiered, and Prosecuted with the utmost Rigour of the Law.

HIS Gracious Answer was, *That He would consider of it.* And we may suppose, That he is considering of it still: For he hath not perform'd one word of it; But on the Contrary, to shew the regard he has for all the *Peers of England*; and for the *Honour of England*; He has acted quite contrary to this *Address*, more since, than before: For not only Abroad, in *Flanders*, and in *Savoy*, are the *English* every where under *Foreign Commanders in Chief*: But, to use them as they deserve, He has now this last time, made a *Foreigner* [*Scomberge*] *Commander in Chief* of all the *Forces* left in *England*. Let the *Lords Address* again! They would if they were *English Men*! Or if he were an *Hereditary King*! But some will bear more *Insults* from a *Mistress* than a *Wife*. And a *King* of our own making, Costs us more than *Twenty* of God's sending; We think our selves bound to *Acquiesce* in our own *Act and Deed*!

If any of the *Cursed* and *Rebel Parliaments* could have found a *Gaffney* or *Glenco* against *King Charles* the 1st, or any of his *Sons*, what a *Noise* would they have made! How had all the *World* been filled with *Apologies* and *Remonstrances*! What a *Dismal Idea* would have been Raised of *Tyranny* and *Arbitrary Government*! In the former *Reigns*, how was the *Nation* Alarm'd with what was *Whispered*; and not *Whispered*, or ever so much as *thought* of, in the *King's Bed-Chamber*; in his *Closet*! Of *Secret Leagues*, and *Private Assassinations* of Men that Murther'd themselves; where there was not the least *Umbrage* or *Colour* of *Pretence*! How *Industrious* was it spread and imbib'd by the *Mob* of this *Nation*, That *King Charles* the 2^d, and the *Earl of Essex* were both *Murdered* by the *Procurement* of one they had a mind to *Blacken*! And *Forty Protestant Witnesses* of the *Greatest Quality* and *Reputation*, were not sufficient to make them believe a *P. of Wales*; Tho' not one *Man*, or *Woman* in the *Nation* ever *Depos'd* any thing to the *Contrary*: Nor was there any other *Argument* against it, besides a few *Drunken Songs*. But that was enough, because it was against a *Lawful King*! And on the other hand, tho' they see their *Fellow Subjects Gaffney'd* and *Glenco'd* before their *Faces*; Tho' it be *Printed* in the *Gazetts*, and *Publick Votes* of the *House of Commons*, and that the *House of Lords* Print their *Addresses*, contrary to their usual *Custom*, on purpose to let the *Nation* see--- Yet they will not see. No. All this is not *NOW* sufficient to imprint it one half hour in their *Memories*, after *Reading* of the *Publick Papers*; They neglect it, They forget it, as not concerning them! *Non Persuadebit, etiamsi Persuaseris*, is their *Resolution*. And *Quos Perdere vult Jupiter, Dementas*, I wish may not be their *Fate*.

BUT

BUT to bring our Story to an End: There is One Noble Stroke of Secretary *Johnston's* behind, Whereby he thinks he has wiped his Matter clean, from all Imputation of the Massacre of *Glenco*; And that is, He has perswaded Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* (whose Order to *Duncanson* is in the foresaid Narrative) to Abscond for some time; and then to slip over to K. W. in *Flanders*; which he has done. This shews as if he were more Guilty than the rest. He is made the *Scapegoat*, and all this Sin laid upon his Head. But if *Hill* gave his Orders to his Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* (which he Ayers in his Order to *Duncanson*) Why was it more Criminal in *Hamilton* to hand down his Colonel's Orders to the next Subaltern?

AND why must *Glen-Lynn*, and the others who actually Committed that Horrid Massacre, and are now in their Respective Commands in *Flanders*, Why should these be Excused?

O! No! They are not excused, for as in the Gazette 18th July 1695. The Parliament in Scotland has made a fierce Vote against them, viz. That his Majesty be Address'd to send them home to be prosecuted for the same, Or Not? As his Majesty shall think fit. OR NOT! This is as Civil as Heart could wish! And whether this Address was sent, or Not; whether it was trusted to Secretary *Johnston* to send it, or No, is all One: For instead of sending them Home to be Tried, *Hamilton* is sent to them; And in Justice we are to suppose that Due Care will be taken, That in this Campaign, They shall either be Killed, Taken, or Desert. And then if we had them again, How we would Hang the Rogues.

BUT our English Parliament was much more Complyant to their *Verianus's*; they did not put them to the trouble so much as of a *Sham Absconding* for a little time; No, nor of suffering the least Disgrace for their more Solemn and Judicial Murders: But Commanded them to take their Places again in their Senate-House; Thus doing them Honour for their Noble Breach of our Laws; And signifying to the Nation what Qualifications are Expected in those whom they Choose to Represent them; and in whose hands they have Deposited the Absolute and Unaccountable Disposal of their Estates, Lives, and Liberties! At least, it is understood. And the Silence of the People, in this Case, is taken for Consent.

FINIS.

